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priest. It is said that the death of an inspirational or a ceremonial priest had to take place on a *me'ae* (4). According to Père Pierre, on the first day following the death came the rite called *poou*. The body was washed and wrapped in a new cloth. On the second day the rite *kahahakatu* was performed when a special house called *ha'e uaka* was erected in the sacred place *(me'ae)*, and decorated with coconut leaves. On the third day was the rite *pouhau*. On this day the body of the dead priest or chief was carried into the *ha'e vaka*. The house was further decorated with strips and rolls of sacred white and red bark cloth, with branches of a plant called *ata*, and with flowers of *koute (Hibiscus rosa sinensis)*. Three bundles of peeled fau poles were set up in the ground and decorated with the white and red cloth. During all these three days, a ceremonial *tapu* prevailed for the whole tribe, no one being allowed, on pain of death, to leave his house or to light a fire for cooking. Following these days of preliminary ceremony, there was continuous chanting in the sacred place for from twenty to thirty days.

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At the time of the death of a chief or priest the violent mourning that was customary in connection with all deaths, was carried to an extreme by all the tribe. The following quotation gives a picture of the activities at this time as seen by an early American missionary (7, pp. 240-1):

> On the fourth of December, 1833, he [the chief of Taiohae] died. The hills then echoed with wailing, the thumping of drums and the blowing of conch shells. The body was hung high in a canoe over the *heiau* [rock platform for worship] and the first wife was obliged to remain continually in care of it, to provide food for the spirit, until the body had so far decayed that the bones could be picked out, which it was the privilege of the wife or the nearest relative to do.

Mr. Alexander has given a description of the scenes he then witnessed. He says:

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> The funeral rites beggared description for obscenity, noise, cruelty, and beastly exposure. They lasted several days, and were the darkest days I ever saw. Companies came from all parts, filling the air with loud wailings, dancing in a state of perfect nudity around the corpse like so many furies, cutting their flesh with shells and sharp stones till the blood trickled down to their feet, the women tearing out their hair, both men and women knocking out their teeth, indulging in the most revolting licentiousness, and feasting to excess, while muskets were fired and seashells were kept a-blowing with a long deep sepulchral sound during the whole night.

According to Dordillon (9), upon the occasion of a chief's death, there was a general *tapu* which reigned one month, during which time no fire could be lighted and no work done. It was believed that anyone who violated this *tapu* would be eaten by a shark. During this time the chief's body lay in or near his own house. At the end of a month it was carried to the *me'ae and* a rite of deification was performed. The elevation of the

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feasts did not come at fixed intervals but were regulated by the necessity for awaiting seasons of plenty. On all these occasions offerings were made at the tomb and at the sacred place of the local god and the sacred place was bedecked. If the man whose death was celebrated were of sufficiently high class, only chiefs were allowed to partake of the feast.

KOIKA OKE

Père Pierre describes feasting, the beating of drums and chanting in connection with the *ko'ika oke,* which, according to Dordillon (9), was celebrated to bring rain or to break a famine. For a month prior to this feast, sexual intercourse was prohibited; women were forbidden to make cloth, to amuse themselves, to bathe, anoint, or decorate themselves with flowers. The *tapu* was then lifted, these restrictions removed, and the memorial festival was celebrated with feasting and general rejoicing, including undoubtedly (though this is not stated) free indulgence of the sexual instincts. At this festival many games were played, such as top spinning and making of string figures. The clothes of chiefesses were orange and those of common women yellow, baked *ena* root being used as a dye for the orange and the raw root for the yellow. At this rite the sons and daughters of chiefly families and old men and women only might dance, and all danced naked. The feasting and dancing lasted from one to ten days (9).

KO'IKA VAIHOPU

Pére Pierre (4) says that the *ko'ika vaihopu,* which was the second memorial festival, was the most famous of all. At this the participants chanted to the beating of drums and danced naked, old men and women being smeared with white earth so as to exaggerate their decreptitude. Men, women, and children were brought as though to be sacrificed as human victims, being carried entirely nude. They were not sacrificed, however, but in pantomime imitated the throes of death. Others impersonated the type of spirits called *fanaua* (see Spirits) which caused women to die in childbirth. Beyond this point the reverend father could not bring himself to continue his description, leaving it with the words "monstrosities," and "truly infernal bacchanals."

According to a Nuku Hiva informant, one feature of the *ko'ika vaihopu* was the exhibition of youths and maids. Before the feast they bleached their skins. They were dressed in all their finery and displayed themselves before the rest of the people, after which they danced. This festival, according to this informant, was celebrated only in seasons of plenty.

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364 574 name given the newly tattooed), as it was also called, was celebrated also by warriors after a war.

The *ko'ina toe haka* (*toe*, female genitals; *haka*, dance), here described, was made by a wealthy man at Pua Ma'u for his son as the third celebration following the completion of his tattooing. It seems probable from the account of the dance of young girls that the object of this feast was to give the boy a chance to choose a wife.

[345] In preparation for this festival, a special house called *fa'e tukau* was built at the dance area (whether this was of the same form as the obelisk-shaped *fa'e tukau* of the high priest I do not know—See Sacred Precincts), and just before the feast day was gaily decorated inside by young girls. Prior to the feast day young men and girls were segregated, each sex living in a separate house. On the feast day the girls left their house. The men as they arrived at the feast place threw stones and spears at the house where the girls had been. They captured the house in pantomime and then chanted inside.

The girls then came on the dance area, dancing the *haka ha'a manumanu* as they approached and after arriving. In this dance, imitating [535] the motion of birds, the dancers stood with their bodies motionless while they agitated rapidly their hands and arms. They wore pleated bark cloth skirts and, attached to their fingers, *kihi* made of the long feathers of the tropic bird. (See Dress and Adornment.)

After this dance, which was done by the girls alone, there was a song, during which all of them, still standing on the dance platform, lifted their skirts (*ka'eu*) above their waists and held them in this way until the song was completed. At the end of the song they allowed the skirts to fall again into place. After this there was dancing by both men and women: the *haka koke*, *haka ha'a manumanu*, and *haka pahaka*. (See Dancing.) ● [786] It was insisted by my informant that there was no sexual freedom at this festival because it was a *ko'ina tapu* (sacred festival).

OTHER FESTIVALS

796 556 431 In *ko'ika hakahiti*, chiefs vied one with another in the attempt to outstrip each other in extravagance of entertainment. One chief would make a great feast and invite the other. The other was then under the obligation of making an equally magnificent feast. On Hiva Oa, the *ha'afiti* constituted a part of the formalities connected with the funerary feasts. *Ha'a fiti* described also the collecting of hogs to be used as offerings to the deceased ancestor.

Singing festivals in honor of men and women are described under Chants; the feasts which celebrated the return of fishermen with a good

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on Nuku Hiva, only two were known, while an additional reported incident ultimately proved to be an attempt at slander. Of the two occurrences, one involved a brother-sister relationship. The girl in this case was particularly promiscuous by native standards, being frequently compared to a pig or dog in her mating habits. Her brother, also possessed of a poor reputation, was married to a syphilitic tubercular, with whom he did not wish to consort, preferring the company of the promiscuous girls and often his sister.

The other case involved a mother-son relationship. This occurred in public during an orgy of drinking, at a time when the mother was unconscious and the son completely disoriented.

The sentiment against incest within the nuclear family is quite strong, with the imputation of incest being enough to seriously damage an individual's reputation. A middle-aged man had a single child, a daughter, of whom he was quite fond. He carefully protected her from males, hoping to marry her well. In overprotecting his daughter he incurred the wrath of a number of suitors. One of these, who had been involved in trouble with the girl's family previously, spread the rumor that he (the suitor) had had intercourse with the girl and that she had not proved /58/ virginal. When asked who had deflowered her, according to the boy she implicated her father, saying that they had intercourse in the bush while supposedly cutting copra.

The effect of this rumor was such that the father rushed the girl into an early marriage with an undesirable boy to prove that he was not being overly possessive of his daughter for ulterior reasons.

The most frequent incest is that between first cousins. One of the reasons for the transgression of this tapu is the relatively small size of population units, in many of which it is often impossible to find an unrelated eligible female. In a valley such as Ho'oumi (1958), for example, only two nubile girls were present in a population of approximately 35.